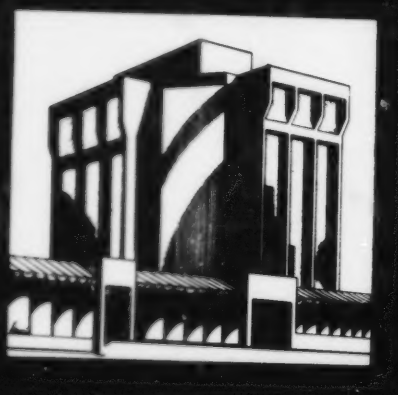
Police Recruitment of Ethnic Minorities



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Canada

POLICE RECRUITMENT OF ETHNIC MINORITIES

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and

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study was launched as a quest for answers to two questions:

(a) Does there exist a problem between the police and members of visible minorities? and

(b) Will employment equity solve the problem?

In this quest it was argued the problems in the relations between the police and visible minority groups stem from a misinterpretation of culturally dictated behaviour which could result in actual or perceived police racism. It was also argued that in these circumstances, the hiring of more members of ethnic minorities would result in an amelioration of the situation only if:

(a) the visible minorities formed what could be called ethnic residential communities which could be policed by police officers from these minority groups;

(b) culturally dictated behaviour can be interpreted as criminal behaviour;

(c) the involvement in criminal activity by members of minority groups is intra group rather than inter group.

Data for answering the questions was obtained from census data, criminal statistics and information obtained in interviews conducted with police officers and leaders of visible minority groups as well as from response to a questionnaire in a survey of members of ethnic minority groups.

In the Greater Ottawa area

(a) there were no areas which could be recognized for policing purposes as ethnic residential communities;

(b) the criminal behaviour engaged in by visible minorities was no different from that engaged in the majority group;

(c) crime in which members of visible minorities were involved was inter-group rather than intra-group.

This study resulted in the conclusion that:

(a) employment equity would not improve the relations between the police and minority groups;

(b) a system which would ensure minority group applicants for employment in the police a fair chance of getting such employment was required;

(c) most urgently required was a system which would address complaints by the police not only from the point of view of police wrong doing but also from the point of view of police racism.

These findings relate only to the situation in the Greater Ottawa region where the visible minorities appear to be a small and select group. The applicability of the findings to other areas must be established by replication studies in areas where the visible minorities constitute not only a larger proportion of the population but also belong to a broader spectrum in the socio-economic structure.

I. EMPLOYMENT EQUITY

The changing nature of urban populations and the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of controlling large numbers of disaffected minorities, have made the police recognize the need to develop a strategy which would better their relations with minority groups. Attempts to understand and explain the conflict and tension between the police and minority groups has resulted in the conceptualization of barriers created by the ethnic groups to separate them from the police. These barriers, it has been claimed, have their roots in conditions which the visible groups experienced in their home countries where racist majorities oppressed, exploited, enslaved and even exterminated minority groups.[1] The Task Force on Human Relations of the Metropolitan Toronto Council remarks pointedly:

> Though it is difficult to ascribe cultural attitudes precisely, the Task Force must point out that the police institution on the Indian subcontinent originated and developed under the control of and to serve the interests of an imperialistic colonization power. To what extent has this historical fact colored the disposition of the South Asian people toward police?[2]

In more recent times a more extensive explanation of the situation has resulted in the conclusion that in addition to the possible cultural hangover of visible minority groups, there were elements of police behaviour that made a contribution to the problem.[3] Spitzer has pointed out that the focus on the variation of values, beliefs, attitudes and orientation has succeeded in diverting attention from the crux of the problem -- the dynamics of social power which defined police minority contact.[4] The main contributing factor has been seen as the white dominance of the police carrying the connotation of an "institution heavily infused with all the prejudices of the majority community".[5]

Identifying the problem as one involving insensitivity to questions of consensus and coordination, Spitzer has suggested that the police "restrict their participation in discretionary enforcement where there is dissensus over their right to intervene".[6] What this means is that the police restrict their encounters with members of visible ethnic minorities to situations where there is a clear cut difference in core values. This type of policing occurs in Israel where the Jewish police maintains a low profile in areas where the Arab minorities are concentrated, interfering to enforce the law only when criminal activity threatens the security of the State or reveals itself as an inter-ethnic event.[7] This strategy tends to create and promote a victim-directed bias which involves the systematic

denial of legal protection to victims of minority groups, a protection to which members of minority groups are entitled.[8]

A Chief of Police has observed: "there is a heavy degree of distrust (of the police) in the new ethnic communities" and has attributed much of this distrust to the fact that there is an imbalance between the ethnic make-up of the police and the city that they serve.[9] Most representatives of visible minority groups alleging racism and discrimination in their representations to the Ontario Task Force on Race Relations and Policing, emphasized the imbalance in the ethnic composition of the police force to infer racist and discriminatory behaviour. Over and over again this task force was told that one of the main reasons for police racism was the fact that the police forces were manned almost exclusively by whites.[10]

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders attributed civil disorders in the United States of America in the 1960s to abrasive relations between the police and minority groups. They argued that the predominance of white police officers in a minority community can serve as a dangerous irritant, developing a feeling that the community was being policed not for the maintenance of civil peace but for the maintenance of the status quo and recommended an increase in the recruitment of minority members as a possible remedial action. In making this recommendation, they claimed that, not only could non-white officers help avoid stereotypes and prejudices in the minds of white officers, these officers could also help to increase departmental insight into ghetto problems and provide information necessary for early anticipation of tensions and grievances that can lead to disorders.[11]

Such recruitment has been recommended in Canada as well. Normandeau concluded an investigation into accusations of racism in the Montreal police, with the claim that there was a need for greater visible minority representation in the Montreal Urban Community police. This greater visibility, he contended, was "a necessary condition for minorities' participation in mainstream society. It symbolizes equal opportunity and represents one solution to the problem of police-minority misunderstanding."[12]

In their attempts to improve their relations with minority groups, the police have, for some time, tried to establish relationships with minority groups such that the resulting interaction would change the perception that the police and the minority groups had of each other.[13] Associated with this development is a growing belief that a community should not only be policed according to the wishes of the community but also by representatives of that community. Following this line of thinking the suggestion has been made that the police recruitment of members of visible minorities might be advantageous, especially if

the recruitment was to result in the ethnic make-up of the police force reflecting the community composition.

Police officers who are members of minority groups have been seen as:

(a) providing "a role model for minority youths and models of positive participation in every decision making spheres of society that earns respect and acceptance from the majority (that is, alleviate the belief amongst visible ethnic minorities that the force is run along racial lines);"

(b) correcting "police misunderstanding and bias towards minorities; and

(c) improving "police minority relations by acting as a liaison between the police and minority communities."[14]

Nevertheless,it has been conceded that increasing minority representation on the police would not automatically improve police minority relations. There was the possibility that the minority recruits would not be able to accurately interpret minority values and attitudes to the police. If they could, there was then the possibility that they would be readily transformed by the police organization and cease being able to make those interpretations accurately.[15]

Hoffman adds another reason for the police recruitment of ethnic minorities. He claims that members of ethnic minorities would, when victimized, be more willing to report crimes to police if the police officer to whom they reported the victimization was a member of their own ethnic group. Referring particularly to the reluctance of Asian immigrants who become victims of crime to report their victimization to the police, Hoffman claims that the recruitment of oriental police officers would help solve this problem because such victims would be able to identify with the police as Asians.[16]

That visible ethnic minorities are under represented in the police forces of many countries is a well known fact. In Britain, for example, only 0.55% of police officers were from visible ethnic minorities which represented 4.5% of the population.[17] The Black Action Defence Committee has pointed out that in Toronto where more than one million people belong to visible minority groups, only 250 of them are employed in the 5,400 member police force.[18]

In Canada, there is at present an effort being made to increase minority representation on police forces. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police instituted a

Special Constable program to recruit natives to help in the policing of native Indian communities.[19] They have frequently adjusted their hiring practices in an effort to make the composition of the force reflect the composition of the general population even to the extent of being accused of adopting discriminatory practices towards certain ethnic groups. Five years ago, the then Commissioner of the RCMP instituted a policy whereby "bilingual people, women, natives and applicants with university degrees were hired ahead of other applicants". This policy has now been changed with the addition of minority groups to this list and with the making of these characteristics an advantage for hiring rather than requiring mandatory hiring.[20] The urban forces of Toronto and Vancouver have launched active recruiting drives in their "burgeoning immigrant communities".[21] The Ottawa Police have also launched a similar program. To aid them in their efforts to increase the minority representation on the police force, the Ottawa Board of Commissioners of Police established an Advisory Committee on Multicultural Police Recruitment and Selection to study and report on ways and means of improving the recruitment of visible minorities.[22]

Following a Supreme Court decision for affirmative action, an effort has been made in the United States to increase the ratio of members from minority groups in the police forces across the country. Police departments have increased their recruitment of police officers from ethnic minorities and efforts have been made to force those police departments who have not done so to comply. Police departments such as the Chicago Police Department and the Buffalo Police Department have had civil suits filed against them by the United States Department of Justice because their employment practices were discriminatory against blacks, Spanish speaking persons and women.[23]

Kuykendall and Burns have claimed that the employment of black Americans as police officers in the United States has been increasing steadily since 1950 and that their number in the police force would soon be proportionate to their number in the general population.[24] Dealing specifically with the situation in New York City, Alexander disagrees with this assessment. He claims that the high point was reached in 1974 and that future growth towards equalization was unlikely. He identifies two factors as being responsible for this situation. First was the double standard that was adopted for recruitment, one for male white police officers and the other for police officers from minority groups including white women. Second was the city's financial problems which caused cuts in recruitment of police officers.[25]

The efforts in Canada too have not succeeded in producing the desired effect. As a part of their data gathering efforts, the Ontario Task Force on Race Relations and Policing conducted a survey of the police forces in Ontario to ascertain how their "hiring practices and promotional processes...serve the goal of making them a true reflection of their communities". They received responses

from 99 of 120 municipal police forces and from the Ontario Provincial Police, covering 98% of Ontario's police officers. The found that the police forces employed 18,283 police officers of which only 346 were members of visible minority communities and they were employed by only 22 of the police forces.[26]

In Ottawa, at the time of writing, only three of a force of 600 are members of visible ethnic minorities and that in a city where visible minorities make up 8.3% of the local work force.[27] In Gloucester the 130 officer force contains only two from visible minority groups and in Nepean only one of the force's 129 officers is a member of a visible minority group.[28] When the civilian members of the police forces are considered, the position is no different. The Ottawa police force has five members of visible minorities among its 297 civilian members and the Gloucester and Nepean police forces have only one visible minority member each among their 26 and 39 civilian employees respectively.[29]

It is not only the police forces in the Ottawa area that have a low proportion of employees from visible minority groups. Other forces too are in the same situation. In Toronto, for example, although visible minorities constitute 20% of the population, their representation on the police force of that city is only 5%.[30] The visible minority component of the Ontario Provincial Police was only 0.4%.[31]

Chiefs of Police have claimed that they have made an honest effort to recruit more minority officers, advertising in newspapers in the major cities across the country as well as in ethnic publications. They have also relaxed the requirements concerning height and eyesight but have not been able to hire "anywhere the number of minority recruits that (they) would like".[32] The Advisory Committee on Multicultural Police Recruitment and Selection appointed by the Ottawa Police Commission states that the Ottawa police has, in addition to their advertising campaign, made contacts with community leaders, made career day presentations in schools and colleges and universities and established a recruiting team to engage in an aggressive recruitment campaign.[33] The inability of the Ottawa police to achieve their goals has been attributed to the minorities not considering "law enforcement a respectable profession -- maybe because of what they've seen in their homelands".[34] "Many immigrants", it has been claimed, "come from countries where having a son or daughter on the police force is a blot on the family's honour".[35]

Studies involving the recruitment of visible ethnic minorities have tended to revolve around two questions. The first of these involves the difficulties encountered in attracting suitable individuals from the visible ethnic minorities. While such persons may be reluctant to apply for positions on a police force, an analysis of the recruitment requirements and procedures has led to the conclusion that these may have had the effect of frustrating applicants from

minority groups and inducing them to drop out.[36] This does not mean to say that members of the white community are not subjected to the same frustration. The recruitment process seems to make the key criterion for enrollment the ability of an individual "to withstand frustration over a long period of uncertainty and subjugate himself to the whims and fancies of those in the upper echelons of the hierarchy".[37]

In Ottawa the recruitment process involves the prospective candidate making a first contact with the recruitment officer of the police, ensuring that he or she meets all the statutory requirements for recruitment and receiving an appointment card. The applicant is then required to undergo a mental ability test and face a one-to-one interview with a recruitment officer who decides, on the basis of that interview, whether the prospective candidate should make an application. Once the application is made, he or she must undergo a medical examination, a psychological test and a physiological test. The applicant then must write an essay and take a shooting test. The individual's background is then investigated and he or she must appear before a selection board. The whole process is estimated to take a minimum of three months.[38]

Examining this selection process, the Advisory Committee on Multicultural Police Recruitment and Selection points out:

(a) the restriction of recruitment to Canadian citizens eliminates a sizeable pool of potential candidates with previous overseas police-related experience;

(b) some parts of the mental ability test appear to be biased against those not brought up in the North American culture while other parts appear to be male oriented. The multiple choice format is "foreign" to candidates without a North American background;

(c) the one-to-one interview is not conducive to objective results;

(d) In the psychological tests, there are many areas where sexual, religious and cultural assumptions could lead to misinterpretations of the responses;

(e) the present standard essay topics are not job related;

(f) the selection board conducting the final interview does not include people with multicultural experience or training and the board members are not involved in the entire selection process.[39]

This notwithstanding, the main difficulty in enticing members of ethnic minorities into the police force appears to be their conception of such employment as a dead end in career development. The Ontario Task Force on Race Relations and Policing was told that visible minorities felt unwelcome in policing and assumed that discrimination would keep them "pounding a beat" without promotional opportunities.[40] Asked whether he would consider a career as a police officer, a black youth readily replied "No" and went on to explain: "My boss is always going to be white, and I got to bend on my knees behind his back to get one more stripe."[41] Others have gone a little further. They have claimed that police officers from minority groups do not get promoted pointing out to a minority group officer who has been on the Ottawa police as a constable for over fifteen years.[42]

Promotions for visible minority officers was one aspect of the problem that was investigated by the Ontario Task Force on Race Relations and Policing. The Task Force concluded that there was evidence of discrimination against the promotion of visible minority officers. The responses that they obtained to their survey indicated that:

> ...on average, only 1.5% of promotions during the last five years went to visible minority officers. In Metropolitan Toronto visible minority officers received 16 or 2.8% of the 574 promotions while elsewhere in Ontario responses from police forces indicated the visible minorities received 21 or 1.1 per cent of 1,998 promotions.
>
> The survey results also show that the effective ceiling for visible minority promotions is at the rank of staff sergeant. The only exception occurred in Toronto, when, in 1984, a visible minority officer was promoted to the rank of Inspector. In 1988, this officer was again promoted to Staff Inspector and remains today the only visible minority senior officer in the Province.[43]

The Task Force also observed:

> ...many of Ontario's relatively few visible minority police officers have sufficiently long periods of employment to permit promotions which have not been forthcoming.[44]

The second question involves the experience of members of minority groups after recruitment. Studies relating to this question,[45] conducted almost exclusively in the United States do not provide clear cut evidence of any amelioration of the relations between the police and the black community. If they did anything, they tended to confirm the belief of police discrimination against

blacks and to alienate from the black community those blacks who became police officers.

In New York City, black police officers were assigned to ghetto precincts in the belief that they would be better able to patrol and police those areas. In addition, there was development and expansion of police community relations programs. All this activity, it was found, "failed to substantially reduce the fear, mistrust and contempt that have long characterized black feelings about the police".[46] The black police officers felt that they were being discriminated against. They believed that they were given the most dangerous assignments in the most hazardous areas and that they were likely to be mistaken for a criminal and shot "accidentally" by other officers.[47] They were repeatedly frustrated in their efforts to gain the cooperation of black citizens and they were unable to mold their jobs according to their own needs. Both these factors generated in the black officers a psychological state of apathy as well as an anger towards the black community. Soon they began to define their role as crime fighters rather than peace keepers and behave apropos the black community in a manner no different from that of white officers.[48]

The situation in Canada does not appear to be any different. A constable who was dismissed from the Toronto police after her eighteen month probation period for failing to meet the department's standards in marksmanship and driving claimed that "racism among her fellow officers hampered her progress during her probation period".[49] A black youth, interviewed on CBC's "As it Happens" program related the story of how a black police officer, who was, with his white partner, attempting to arrest a drug dealer, told him "Get the f... out of here, nigger." Taken aback, he had turned to the officer and asked him "You are white or something?", whereupon the white partner has responded "He is one of us."[50] A black police officer, the first to be hired by a police force, asked how he felt being the only black police officer on that force, responded:

> being the only black on the force does not bother me. I'm qualified and educated enough to do the job. Besides, when you are in uniform, the only colour people see is blue anyway.[51]

The Ontario Race Relations and Policing Task Force had indicated that their recommendations would centre on:

(a) mandatory targets for hiring and promoting racial minorities in the province's 124 police forces;

(b) establishing an independent civilian system to review complaints of excessive force by the police; and

(c) increasing race relations training for all Ontario police.[52]

In their report they went further than that. They called for hiring targets to be set by law and for the withholding of funds from those police forces that did not make every effort to meet the hiring targets.[53]

Chiefs of Police have reacted to this recommendation. One claimed that if the police were "forced to hire more visible minorities to meet hiring targets recommended" standards would drop and the people would get substandard policing.[54] Similar sentiments were expressed by others as well.[55] Chiefs who had estimated that it would take at least twenty more years for their police force to reflect the community's visible minority make-up[56] were also opposed to hiring targets. They interpreted "affirmative action" as an issue of "lowering standards".[57]

Lowering standards, the Ontario Task Force claims:

> ...is an extremely patronizing concept. It says expressly that visible minorities or women or whatever the excluded group may be, are, by nature, simply not good enough to be part of the institution.
>
> Bluntly put, the phrase "lowers standards" masks a particular kind of elitism. It is a code for "white males only need apply".[58]

A different objection to hiring on a quota basis has come from some other Chiefs of Police. These Chiefs claimed:

> recruiting goals raise the spectre of reverse discrimination. ... Setting a target for a particular group doesn't enter into our calculations. ... With (a few) visible minority officers in a (relatively large) uniformed force...it is important to quickly attract more minority recruits. But that urgency has to be balanced against a possibility of a backlash or resentment.[59]

With regard to police recruitment of visible minorities, the Ottawa Citizen commented editorially:

> Only a small percentage of reported crimes are solved by police in the traditional detective story fashion. Most crimes are solved with the help of information provided voluntarily by a supportive public.

> Public willingness to provide this essential information is obviously determined by attitudes about the police. ...when ethnic groups see only white officers they make predictable assumptions about police insensitivity or racism.
>
> As a result, sections of the law abiding community become alienated and less motivated to help the police. In the most severe cases, public hostility becomes so acute that criminal activities are accepted as justified reactions to police oppression.[60]

So commenting, they added:

> The need for police forces to better mirror the racial makeup of the public they serve is not simply a matter of window-dressing. It is essential to effective policing.[61]

These remarks tend to suggest that both police performance and the allegation of racism are affected by a perception of visible minority groups that a police force is predominantly white and that employment equity is the only solution. The Ontario Task Force on Race Relations and Policing added to these sentiments:

> Employment equity is not a problem to be avoided but an opportunity to be embraced. Many potential visible minority candidates male and female have qualifications of value to policing, particularly community policing, which match or exceed those of traditionally successful applicants for police positions.
>
> Indeed, community policing cannot achieve its manifest benefits if a police force does not generally reflect the work force from which it is drawn. For community policing to succeed, the police must be viewed as a welcoming institution by all racial groups.[62]

Commenting on the Task Force recommendations, Thomas Walkom points out that the terms of reference for the Task Force "implicitly assumed that there were problems between the police and members of visible minorities" and required the Task Force to make recommendations to solve these problems.[63] That precisely is what the Task Force has done. In recommending employment equity as a solution, however, the Task Force has left two questions unexplored. The first is whether there does exist a problem between the police and members of visible minorities and the second is whether employment equity will solve that problem.[64] This study seeks to explore these two questions.

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II. THE STUDY

The move towards recruitment of members of visible minority groups into the police force stems from a notion prevalent in modern thinking that for the efficient functioning of the police, the personnel must be representative of the population served. It has been claimed at various times that the recruitment of members of visible minorities into the police force would be capable of:

(a) improving the image of the police by making the composition of the police force reflect the composition of the community that is being policed, thus removing the perception of majority group domination, preventing the accusation of racism being levied against the police;

(b) improving the performance of the police by enabling the police to take into account the special problems arising from the cultural peculiarities of minority groups and thus prevent misinterpretations of their behaviour;

(c) improving the relationship that exists between the police and minority groups by providing an avenue for the proper interpretation of the behaviour of minority groups by the police on the one hand and the behaviour of the police by the minority groups on the other;

(d) obviating possible conflicts between the police and the visible ethnic minorities by having the neighbourhoods in which they live policed by members of their own ethnic groups;

(e) promoting the confidence that the minority groups have in the police by providing them with police officers with whom they could identify and to whom they could comfortably report occurrences of victimization; and

(f) assisting the police in the maintenance of law and order by providing a means by which the police could become aware of the criminal activity of members of minority groups.

In addition to this, pressure has been exerted on the police to recruit more members of minority groups justified by the claim that such recruitment would:

(a) open job opportunities for members of the minority groups; and

(b) make the community truly democratic by permitting minority groups to participate in all walks of life.

The push for employment equity stems from the combination of two related beliefs. The first is that efficient policing is dependent on giving correct weight to circumstantial factors for the intelligent appraisal of situations. The second is that for such appraisal, patrol officers must be able to draw on background information which would enable them to discern what particular constellations of fact and factors mean.

The proper interpretation of facts and factors, however, does not necessarily call for an overt effort to improve the visible minority complement in a police force. What is called for is an improvement in the officer's ability to function as a professional, no matter what his or her ethnic origin may be. The call for the recruitment of members of visible minority groups rests on the assumption that understanding and empathy is possible only from members of one's own ethnic group. Even if it were so, the effect that such recruitment would have on policing would depend on the context in which the recruits from the visible minority groups would be required to work.

The beneficial effects allegedly accruing from the increase in visible minority representation on police forces depends, in terms of these claims, on the existence of a number of preconditions.

(a) There should exist a belief prevalent among visible minority groups that a police force composed predominantly of members from the majority group is racist. In the absence of such a belief an increase in the hiring of members from visible minority groups would not help dispel a non-existent notion.

(b) There should exist examples of police behaviour involving visible minority groups which could be interpreted as racist to reinforce the visible minority group's belief of police racism. In the absence of such examples, the belief may be slowly eroded.

(c) Visible minorities should be living in clearly demarcable residential communities so that they could be policed by members of their own groups and possible misinterpretation of their culturally dictated behaviour be avoided. If they are dispersed throughout the city and living among other groups, such policing would not be possible.

(d) Visible ethnic minorities should engage in special types of criminal activity which could be considered resulting from particulars of their

culture. If the criminal activity is not culturally dictated or culturally generated, an understanding or appreciation of the culture of the ethnic group would not help in the police comprehension of the criminal activity.

(e) Visible ethnic minorities should be like the Ischmalites whose hand is against all mankind, always secretly planning and plotting some type of criminal activity. If such were not the case, there would be no information for the police to obtain.

(f) The criminal activity in which members of visible minority groups engage should be intra-group rather than inter-group. If the offender and the victim were to come from different ethnic groups, the difficulties encountered because of the peculiar culture of the ethnic group cannot be addressed by a police officer from one of these ethnic groups. While he might have the special knowledge that is required to understand the criminal activity from the point of view of one ethnic group, he would not have the knowledge to understand the activity from the point of view of the other ethnic group.

(g) Members of visible minorities who have been targets of criminal activity should have been willing to bear their loss in silence. If there were no silent sufferers; if they had displayed no reluctance to report their victimization to officers of other ethnic groups, the presence of a police officer with whom they could readily identify would not improve the report of victimization.

(h) The unemployment rate among visible minorities should be high and there should be a demand by the visible minorities for employment in the police.

It is only in the existence of these preconditions that the recruitment from ethnic minorities can be considered capable of improving police relations with them. In the absence of these preconditions, this action cannot produce the desired change. This does not mean that in the existence of these preconditions, the desired change would result. There are a number of other factors which can conceivably operate to prevent the desired change ensuing. It does, however, mean that from a theoretical perspective, the desired change can result only when the preconditions exist. This study has been designed to ascertain the extent to which the preconditions exist in the greater Ottawa area -- the police jurisdictions of the cities of Ottawa, Nepean and Gloucester.

The preconditions have been identified as:

(a) a belief among members of visible ethnic minorities that a police force composed predominantly of members from the majority group is racist;

(b) the residential concentration of members of ethnic minorities;

(c) the involvement of members of visible ethnic minorities in special types of criminal activity which could be considered as resulting from the peculiarity of their culture;

(d) the restriction of the direction of the criminal activity to members of the same group;

(e) a reluctance on the part of members of visible ethnic minorities to utilize the official law enforcement machinery to obtain redress for victimization;

(f) high unemployment rates among visible minorities and a demand by the visible ethnic minorities for recruitment to the police force.

The assessment of the existence of these preconditions in the Greater Ottawa area was sought to be achieved by:

(a) the study of the residential distribution of visible ethnic minorities in the area;

(b) the study of the criminal activity of members of visible ethnic minorities in the area; and

(c) the study of the opinion of members of visible ethnic minorities about crime and policing in the area.

The data necessary for these studies, it was envisaged, could be obtained from Statistics Canada, from the three police forces in the area and from an opinion survey of members of visible ethnic minorities.

The data on the residential distribution of visible ethnic minorities in the area, it was believed could be obtained from Statistics Canada. In the alternative, it was believed that the data could be culled from information that could be

obtained from Embassies and High Commissions in Ottawa regarding ex patriates or from the various Friendship Associations regarding their membership.

The publications of the census taken in Canada in 1986 do not give the ethnic distribution of the population on a city basis. Available in the publications were the distribution of the population by the mother tongue of the individual. Inquiries about the availability of data on the ethnic distribution of the population from the Department of Census, led to us being told that that information was scheduled for later publication.

The data on the residential distribution of visible minorities that we sought was to determine the existence of distinct ethnic residential communities in the Greater Ottawa area. We thought that the city halls might have this information. The city administrations do not take a census of the population in their areas but rely on the government census taken every five years for their planning needs. They did, however, direct us to the Ethno Cultural Data Base in Toronto which does provide information on "Ontario's diverse population".

Another possible source of such information was the police. We of course did not expect the police to have taken a population census of their area of jurisdiction. We thought that the planning of their activities would have called for knowledge of the ethnic distribution of the population and that they would have somehow or other obtained this information. On inquiry, we were told that the ethnic origin of individuals did not enter into consideration in planning their routine activities and consequently they did not have occasion to collect that information. We were told, however, that police officers on patrol had noticed the concentration of certain ethnic groups in certain areas and that it may be possible to obtain some information about the ethnic distribution of the population from them.

Attempts were also made to secure the data from the Ottawa Alliance of Race Relations only to discover that they too did not possess the required information. They directed us to the Ottawa Carleton Immigration Services who provided us with a list of the ethnic organizations in the Greater Ottawa area and from whom we might be able to obtain the required information. The various Friendship and Cultural Associations as well as the various Embassies and High Commissions were approached to obtain membership lists and lists of expatriates. These bodies expressed a reluctance to provide the information.

The data on crime and criminality of visible ethnic minorities, we believed could be obtained from the police forces. There are an increasing number of studies conducted on various aspects of police work suggesting a ready

availability of whatever data a researcher might require and a ready willingness of the police to cooperate with such research. Though claims have been made "that police organizations present research problems that are different from those normally encountered in other formal bureaucratic organizations",[1] we believed that obtaining access to data which are either possessed or controlled by the police, unless of course, they are published, involves more or less the same procedure as that involved in obtaining data from any other bureaucratic organization and poses the same problems. Permission to gain access to the data must first come from the upper echelons of the organization and then the cooperation of the lower levels must be obtained to actually get the information.

When the behaviour of police officers is being studied, Fox and Lundman[2] claim that access to information involves what could be considered a passage through two gates: one manned by the top level authority figures of the organization and the other by the proposed subjects of the study. Their experience in trying to gain access to data in five police organizations led them to conclude that success in such an endeavour is determined by three factors. The first of these, they claim, is the existence of informal relations with top level administrators. Citing Olesen and Whittaker[3] they point out that these informal relations emphasizing roles based on friendship, exchange of favours and the development of mutual trust, "gives a positive multidimensional background" to the research relationship which is essentially unidimensional. The second is the pattern of authority in the organization. This determines the need for "contingent acceptance at successive organizational levels". Such need is directly related to the degree to which formal lines of authority are relied upon. The third is what they call self selection -- the decision made by the organization to deny or grant access to the data and dependent on "overall openness of the organization to external contact and observation". The data that Fox and Lundman sought was observations of the police officers at work.

In another study[4] Ericson sought "to examine empirically how patrol officers constitute the world they inhabit through their decision-making processes". In order to obtain the data that he needed, it was necessary for a researcher to ride with and observe patrol officers actually at work. In his acknowledgements in the book that resulted from this study, he claims that he obtained the cooperation of the Chief of Police who encouraged the project and paved the way, the senior officers who helped as the field work started and the patrol officers who permitted their activities to be observed. In the body of his report, however, he lists the difficulties that were encountered and conveys the impression that the cooperation that he received was directly proportional to the rank of the officers concerned: the higher was the rank, the greater was the cooperation. While the Chief of Police granted the necessary permission for the researchers to travel in patrol cars and supervisors assigned the researchers to patrol cars, the patrol officers were reluctant to have the researchers ride with

them. Some even refused outright to comply citing a number of seemingly valid reasons.

The researchers, nevertheless, were permitted to travel in the patrol cars and to observe the behaviour of the patrolofficers. Once the permission was granted by the Chief of Police and the order issued by him to permit the observations, neither the supervisors nor the patrolmen, whatever their feelings may have been, felt that they could refuse in direct defiance of the Chief's orders. Consequently, there was cooperation extended according to the letter of the order but not according to the spirit. There is evidence that in some cases not only was what the researchers permitted to observe carefully controlled, the behaviour of the officers was also influenced by the presence of the researcher in the patrol car.

The researchers appear to have become aware of this situation in a small proportion of the cases. However, as Ericson himself points out, it is not known to what extent it pervaded the entire data collection process. The description of the procedure conveys the impression that a concerted effort was made by the police officers to provide only that data that they wanted given. Someone who had not been a police officer was totally incapable of understanding how the police officers felt and acted. Hence, if free and unimpeded observation was permitted, a wrong impression of police work might have been obtained.[5]

In our endeavours to obtain research data from the police in Ottawa, Nepean and Gloucester, on previous occasions, we have always encountered nothing but cooperation. Students at the University of Ottawa preparing a Master's thesis had encountered in the past hardly any difficulty in obtaining data of the nature that Fox and Lundman as well as Ericson sought.[6] They, however, sought the data through a questionnaire rather than through participant observation. The data that was sought in our study related to crime that was committed in their jurisdictions, but data that were not readily available in the official publications. Such data had also been made readily available to students at the University of Ottawa by the Ottawa, Nepean and Gloucester police forces.[7] There are, however, instances in more recent times where attempts by other students to obtain similar types of information from the police did not prove that easy.[8]

Students have encountered considerable difficulty in obtaining similar data from other segments of the criminal justice system. McCowan relates the case of a student who was not permitted access to data necessary to compare the operation of the Young Offenders' Act and the Juvenile Delinquency Act. It was originally claimed that the grant of such access violated the provisions of section 38(1) of the Young Offenders' Act which called for the non publication of the facts

relating to the case. When it was pointed out that section 44.1(1) permitted inspection of the record of a completed case for research purposes "if the judge is satisfied that the disclosure was desirable in the public interest...", the student was asked to provide a list of the cases on which information was required to enable the judge to review the case.[9]

When this study began, the Canadian Police College which sponsored the study and funded it, wrote to the Chiefs of Police in Ottawa, Nepean and Gloucester informing them about the study and requesting them to give us the necessary assistance. This was the first time that we had an intermediary approach the Chiefs of Police on our behalf. Because of our relations with the Police Chiefs, we did not envisage encountering any difficulties in obtaining the data even without this intervention. The Chiefs responded favourably providing a name of an officer who would liaise with us. The officers named by the Chiefs of Police were contacted and an initial meeting was arranged. At this meeting, our research was carefully explained. The theoretical base of the study, the purpose of the study and the method of study was carefully outlined. Also indicated was the nature of the data that was required. We provided them with a list of the data that we required and asked them to indicate what information was available from the police.

At all the police stations we were told:

(a) the police did not have information on the population of the different atoms by ethnic origin;

(b) it may be possible for us to obtain the ethnic origin of the offender and the victim in crime. This information was not required to be noted in the occurrence reports or the fingerprint reports but was sometimes noted by the police officer making out the report;

(c) it may be possible for us to obtain information as to whether the different ethnic groups were involved in special types of crime;

(d) it may be possible for us to obtain information about the difficulties encountered in apprehending offenders from the different ethnic groups, in interrogating persons from the different ethnic groups, and in obtaining evidence from persons from the different ethnic groups; and

(e) by interviewing a sample of officers, it would be possible for us to obtain the general opinion of the hierarchy as well as the rank and

file of the advantages and disadvantages of recruiting persons from the different ethnic groups.

At our initial meeting we were taken around, introduced to the heads of various sections who were asked to extend their cooperation. All of them listened to what we had to say, noted what we wanted and informed us that they would be contacting us soon. But the response did not come and we were being made aware of the similarity of this experience with the experience of Fox and Lundman.[10] Ericson has attributed the difficulties he encountered in obtaining the data to the officer's perception of the research and the researchers. Though the purpose of the research was well explained to them at the onset, many of the patrol officers seemed to believe that "the researchers were working for the force administration in order to provide them with information as to how they were 'behaving on the street'".[11] Others[12] also have encountered such difficulties and tended to attribute the difficulties encountered to a conglomeration of factors all of which amount to a desire of the police organizations to prevent the dissemination of the knowledge of police techniques and strategies. Contended Ericson in this connection, "A key power available to the police is the control of information."[13]

We also began thinking on these lines and wondered whether the police officers did not desire to provide us with the data because of their views on the recruitment of members of visible minorities -- views that they did not want to divulge to us. The recruitment of members of visible minorities was a very sensitive subject about which, the Ontario Task Force on Race Relations and Policing seems to indicate, the police forces are anxious to show they are doing much without actually doing anything.[14]

Fortunately for us at one police station, the liaison explained the problem to us. The information that we wanted was available in the files but it had not been fed into the computer. Reorganization of the records system had scattered these files in boxes in different parts of the station. The force did not have sufficient personnel to assign a few to search out the files and cull the information from them. If, however, we were willing to send someone who would manually review these files, we would be able to get the information. Following this suggestion, we were able to obtain a considerable amount of data not only from that police station but also from the others by suggesting that we follow the same procedure.

The plan to obtain the opinion on crime and policing of the members of the different ethnic groups, had been to approach the various Friendship and Cultural Associations and canvass the opinion of random samples obtained from membership lists. A list of the different Friendship and Cultural Associations was

obtained and letters were sent to them explaining the study and requesting a meeting with the President or Secretary with a view of organizing focus group sessions and also of distributing questionnaires to a randomly selected sample of the membership.

The response that we obtained from them was extremely poor. Only a very few responded, and those who did respond did not think it was possible to organize focus group interviews. The main reason given was those who we would have selected for the focus group interviews would not all be available at the same time. The suggestion that these interviews be conducted with the executive immediately after one of their meetings was also summarily dismissed. There was so much business to be conducted at the meetings, it was claimed, that it would not be possible to introduce another extraneous and time consuming item.

We were also refused the membership lists but the suggestion was made that if we were to hand over the questionnaire to a member of the executive, that member would undertake to distribute the questionnaires and have them completed and returned to us. Left with no other option, we adopted this strategy, fully aware that the sample would not be a randomly taken one. This was not the only shortcoming encountered in this survey. We received only 48 completed questionnaires. Our sample comprised people from Africa, Barbados, Cambodia, China, Grenada, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Macau, Malaysia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Vietnam and the West Indies. Most of them were employed as professionals, executives, in middle management positions, or as skilled labour.

While this study was being conducted, the Ontario Task Force on Race Relations and Policing was holding hearings in Toronto, Ottawa, Windsor and Thunder Bay and the representations made to them were reported in the media. Also reported in the media were comments and observations made by the police, politicians and leaders of visible minority groups. These reports were also used as a source of data. We felt that this was an important source not only because they represented the opinions of relevant members of the community but also because, read by and listened to by other members of society, they were capable of influencing their thoughts and beliefs.

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III. ALLEGATIONS OF POLICE RACISM

On November 11th, 1987, a black teenager was shot in the forehead by a Montreal police constable after he had obeyed the police officer's order to stop as he tried to flee custody. He had been arrested and brought to the Police Station opposite which the incident occurred. The officer concerned, who was acquitted of a manslaughter charge but dismissed from the Montreal Police Force for the use of unjustified force, claimed that the revolver had gone off accidentally.[1]

On March 8th, 1988, the Executive Director of the Island Lake Tribal Council in Winnipeg was shot dead during a struggle which followed an attempt by a Winnipeg constable to check the Indian's identification. The officer concerned, who was exonerated of any wrong doing, claimed that the revolver had gone off accidentally.[2]

On August 9th, 1988, a black man, who had been crippled four months earlier by a police bullet, was shot dead by a Toronto police constable in a rooming house while allegedly threatening the officer's partner with a knife. The police officer claimed that he had shot and killed the man as he lunged at his partner with a knife.[3]

On December 8th, 1988, police officers from Peel Region police shot dead, through the back of the head, a seventeen year old black youth while he was driving away from them. The youth had apparently tried to run down the officers when they attempted to stop him while he drove a stolen car.[4]

On November 8th, 1988, a black man was shot and injured in Ottawa by a police officer from the Ontario Provincial Police who stopped him as he sped to the bedside of his sick son late at night. While his wife was in the back of the police cruiser, the man had moved to the driver's seat and attempted to move the car. The officer's coat had apparently got caught in the door. It was then that he was shot.[5]

These events and a number of similar others have led to a recent intensification of the allegations of racism against police forces in Canada.

The existing literature suggests that racist and discriminatory treatment of visible ethnic minorities is not uncommon in the United States of America.[6] Recently, an attempt was made by a black officer to prove such discrimination in the Long Beach police department in a private sting operation. A black Sergeant

from one police department rode as a passenger in a car driven by a white off-duty Corrections Officer through a high crime area in another police jurisdiction which was considered to be particularly racist. Their car was stopped and the driver and passenger ordered out. After an obscenity laced curbside argument, the black passenger officer was asked to face a building and put his hands up. After he had complied, after he had put his hands up, after he had turned towards a window, after he had said he could be searched, one of the officers who had stopped them shoved his face through the plate glass window. Claimed the black Sergeant, the violence was unprovoked and there was absolutely no need for it.[7]

Allegations of racism have been levied against police forces in Canada for some time. Regular spot checks of visible ethnic minority males, cases of verbal abuse, name calling, racial harassment and other examples of what has been identified as such discriminatory treatment have been reported and cited as evidence of the racism.[8] In addition to this, there are events which tend to support the belief that the police act in a racist and discriminatory fashion. Some recent examples are:

(a) the police manipulation of the evidence to secure the conviction and his subsequent imprisonment for eighteen years for a murder he did not commit of an Indian youth in Sydney, Nova Scotia;[9]

(b) the "inept and dilatory (police) investigation of the brutal murder of an eighteen year old Indian girl from The Pas reserve";[10]

(c) the callous fashion in which a legally blind Cree Indian woman who was knocked down by a car while crossing a street in Hull in an apparently inebriated condition was treated by the Hull police;[11]

(d) the police arrest in a church, after interruption of the church service, of five young people, four of whom were black, wrongly identified as suspects in a robbery.[12]

Accusations of police racism were contained in the representations made to the Ontario Race Relations and Policing Task Force. In a number of cases, the focus was on the imbalance in the ethnic composition of the police forces with the implication that a police force comprised predominantly of members of the white majority was, by definition, bound to be racist. In a number of other cases, the Task Force was provided with concrete examples of racist and discriminatory behaviour. In Windsor, a black told the Task Force how once a gun had been shoved by the Windsor police into his mouth knocking out a front tooth. He then

proceeded to cite other instances of police behaviour which he claimed were blatantly discriminatory against the blacks:

> (a) police see a group of whites and blacks jaywalking at a major intersection. Only the blacks are given tickets;
>
> (b) black youths are teased and baited by the police. If the youngsters lash out, they face arrest for assaulting police or resisting arrest;
>
> (c) a black 15 year old is detained for wearing a jogging suit resembling one that was reported stolen. When his mother produced a sales slip, he is let go but no apology or anything was forthcoming.[13]

A 43 year old public servant, an immigrant from Asia, related how four burly police officers had come to his home in suburban Toronto, when both he and his wife were away, arrested his thirteen year old daughter, charged her with assault and uttering a death threat, and put her in jail for the night. Earlier that day, she had been playing with friends in the school after the first big snow fall for the year and one of the girls had been injured. He claims that the treatment meted out to his daughter by the police was merely because his daughter was, unlike the injured girl, not white.[14]

In Thunder Bay, native Indians recited such distressing tales of injustice against the natives, that one member of the Task Force who was himself a police officer was moved to address them: "I am deeply ashamed that my fellow officers have behaved so badly.... I owe you and your people an apology."[15]

The police, on the other hand, vehemently claim that they are neither racist nor do they act in a racist manner. Even police officers who have resigned from the force, because they disliked the atmosphere, supported this view. A former constable from Winnipeg, interviewed on CBC's "As it Happens" program, claimed:

> I have not witnessed police officers beating up someone because of his race. I have witnessed a lot of comments, derogatory statements to them or about them between us.[16]

They do, however, concede that there may be a few among them who may act in a racist or discriminatory fashion. But as far as the majority of them are concerned, the claim is that their education, their training and their

professionalism prevent them from behaving in a racist or discriminatory fashion. Contended a police spokesman recently,

> the police are well educated about dealing with minorities and of late have been even "more friendly and jovial" when dealing with blacks, the majority of whom are "law abiding", happy people who support the police.[17]

The labeling of any behaviour as racist or discriminatory depends on the manner in which that behaviour gets interpreted. The elements of communication, both verbal and non-verbal, are capable of being interpreted differently by the person who sends out the communication and by the person who receives that communication. Consequently, there is always the possibility of a recipient of a communication giving it a meaning entirely different from that intended. Examples of the extent of the difference in interpretation and the resultant misunderstanding abound.

As far as police encounters with members of visible ethnic minorities are concerned, there are a number of stories which suggest a considerable amount of misinterpretation of behaviour. In Philadelphia, Jamaican immigrants found themselves arrested and charged for selling to police officers in sting operations a substance that they identified as "Bay Rum". To the Jamaicans "Bay Rum" was a hair tonic in common use in their home country. To the American police officers, it was an illicit brew.[18] Then again, Pakistani youths who avoid making eye contact with their interrogator when being questioned by a police officer about a crime that they are alleged to have committed are believed to be lying. In Pakistan, avoiding eye contact is a culturally required sign of deference to an elder, whatever his status in life may be, while to the police officer, avoidance of eye contact is a sure sign of guilt.[19] As the same act can be interpreted in two different ways, one by members of the visible ethnic minority and one by the police, when the police react to their interpretation of the act, accusations of racism and discrimination are levelled against them by a population that cannot understand that reaction.

It is not only that the police that have misinterpreted the behaviour of members of visible ethnic minorities. Members of visible ethnic minorities have also misinterpreted and misunderstood the behaviour of the police. Thus, when the police arrive to disperse gatherings of West Indians enjoying music, having a social drink and playing dominoes in front of their houses or in the park, the police behaviour is interpreted as harassment.[20] It is not realized that the police are only responding to a complaint by other citizens. Similarly misinterpreted as police discrimination and harassment is the behaviour of the police officers who try to disperse black kids hanging out in a plaza. Unable to remain cooped up in

a building in a nearby Ontario Housing Project, they seek out the plaza which is open and free. They cannot understand why the police should take this undue interest in them. They do not realize that their presence in the plaza has prompted merchants to call the police because they believed that a crime was about to be committed.[21]

Unpleasant encounters between the police and members of minority communities, delay in police response to complaints from members of visible minorities and the like are seen as racially biased police treatment of the minority communities.[22] Even what would normally be considered pleasant encounters are sometimes interpreted as racially biased police treatment by minority communities. When the Toronto Metropolitan Police adopted in 1983 a high profile policing policy and police officers randomly approached people on the street and engaged them in conversation -- polite and professional -- visible ethnic minorities interpreted it as an example of police harassment.[23]

The classical definition of racism is the basing of social or political policies and actions on the belief that each human race is characterized by attributes which determine behaviours and capacities, and that a particular race is inherently superior. Although in the present day and age the belief in the inherent superiority of any one race has long been discredited, certain types of behaviour still tend to get tied to the physical attributes of race through the intervening variable of culture. The empirical linkage of culture to certain types of behaviour permits the basic racist attitude to persist disguised.

Police officers, in their day to day activity, are inclined to make certain observations about crime and criminals. Such observations are not indicative of racist behaviour. They are purely empirical observations which help the police in the performance of their functions by telling them where their investigative activity should be concentrated. In their attempt to render these observations useful, they tend to look for easily discernible characteristics to make the causal linkage. A police spokesman, for example, observed "an Irishman or a Scotsman or even a Newfoundlander will use their fists to defend themselves. But others don't", adding in the same conversation, "it seems to me that more crime is committed by some members of the black community that is disproportionate to the overall population".[24] Again a former morality squad officer has observed "a disproportionate number of pimps are black".[25]

These observations result in the promotion of a conscious or unconscious belief that members of certain groups possess a peculiar propensity to indulge in antisocial behaviour. This belief is facilitated by the association of behaviour with values and culture. As visible ethnic minorities appear obviously different from the

majority group, it is easy to assume a dissensus over core values. They consequently get singled out for special attention.

Training courses for police designed to improve their relations with ethnic groups which emphasize cultural and value differences and culture-dictated and value-dictated behavioural peculiarities may tend to aggravate rather than alleviate the situation. While stressing the differences, these courses fail to mention that the differences do not necessarily imply dissensus over core values. While there are instances of culturally dictated criminal behaviour committed by members of visible ethnic minorities,[26] the cultural differences rarely relate to behaviour which could be called criminal.

Bias on the part of visible ethnic minorities resulting from a belief based on the fact or fiction of prejudice and discrimination against them can lead them to aggravate problems of public order[27] and lend credence to the supposition of a peculiar ethnic propensity for antisocial or criminal behaviour. Racial riots such as those that occurred in Detroit after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., in Brixton after the alleged police killing of a black youth in 1982,[28] in Miami after the police shooting of a black motor cyclist[29] are examples of some of the more serious resulting problems. In Canada such rioting has not occurred but a hint of its possibility was given after the recent police killings in Toronto by the leader of a black activist group. Said he: "We cannot abandon our beliefs. If people who control the police don't do something, then we will have to take action."[30]

The behaviour that has been interpreted as racist or discriminatory fall into five categories: (a) verbal abuse; (b) physical abuse; (c) trivialization of victimization; (d) unwarranted suspicion of involvement in criminal activity; and (e) assumption of guilt.

These are instances of police abuse of power. What makes them racist is an associated connotation of differential treatment on the basis of race. Thus, an immigrant from Jamaica, acquitted on charges of assaulting police, escaping from custody and dangerous driving, claimed that there was no racism involved in his case even though the judge had commented that "a small group of unscrupulous police" had fabricated evidence in an attempt to get a "very vulnerable member of society" jailed. During the last five years, the man had had laid against him a number of charges ranging from "10 counts of assaulting police to ones as trivial as signing a driver's licence in pencil instead of ink". The man did not think that racism was involved because he said "at least one of the officers involved...was black".[31]

In our survey of visible ethnic minority groups we asked a number of questions relating to police racism. One set of questions concentrated on the

respondent's assessment of the criminality in the area in which he lived and of the manner in which the police were doing their job:

(a) Do you feel safe and secure in the area where you live?

(b) Do you feel the area in which you live receives sufficient police protection?

(c) Do you feel that the police in this city are doing a good job controlling crime?

(d) Do you feel that the police are readily available when they are needed?

(e) Is the area in which you live relatively free of crime?

The responses revealed most of the respondents believed that their neighbourhoods were safe and secure, that the police afforded them sufficient protection, that the police did a good job controlling crime, that the police were readily available and that their neighbourhoods were relatively free of crime. They expressed a general satisfaction with the manner in which the police performed their functions.

A second set of questions canvassed their opinion on the manner in which the police interacted with visible ethnic minority groups:

(a) Do you feel that when a member of an ethnic minority is involved in a crime as a victim the police are sufficiently diligent in their investigations?

(b) Do you feel that when a member of an ethnic minority is involved in a crime as an offender, he is treated by the police as if he were guilty?

(c) Do you feel that the police are overzealous in their efforts to prove guilt when a member of an ethnic minority is suspected of having committed a crime?

(d) Whenever you come in contact with the police do you feel that the police are (i) courteous, (ii) efficient, (iii) indifferent?

(e) Do you feel that their behaviour was influenced by the fact that you were a member of an ethnic minority group?

(f) Do you feel that when a police officer speaks to a member of an ethnic minority he is rude or discourteous?

(g) Do you feel that the benaviour of the police towards members of an ethnic minority is different from their behaviour towards the whites?

They were asked whether they were satisfied with the performance of the police whenever they were victims of a crime or suspected of having committed a crime.

The majority of responses seem to indicate that the police in the Greater Ottawa area are:

(a) sufficiently diligent when investigating a crime where a member of a visible minority group has been victimized;

(b) not influenced in their behaviour by the fact that they are dealing with members of visible minority groups; and

(c) not rude and discourteous in their dealings with members of visible minority groups.

(d) were not overzealous in their efforts to prove the guilt of a member of a visible minority group who is suspected of having committed a crime; and

(e) did not treat members of visible minorities differently from members of the white majority.

These sentiments were in keeping with their expressed satisfaction of the police performance when they themselves got personally involved as either a victim or a suspect in a crime. However, a majority of the respondents felt that when a member of a visible minority was involved in a crime as an offender, he was treated by the police as if he was guilty.

A final question dealt with police racism. The respondents were asked, "Do you feel that the police in this city are racist?". They were also asked whether they based their opinion on their own experience or on the experience of a friend or relative. The majority of the respondents did not think the police were racist. Their response was an unqualified "No". Of those answering "Yes", the larger number

claimed their opinion was based on the experience of others rather than on their own. A number wrote that their answer was based on what they read in the newspapers.

The sample in the survey, as has been pointed out earlier, was small and cannot be considered representative of the visible minorities in the Greater Ottawa area. It is with these limitations in mind that the data must be considered.

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IV. ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL COMMUNITIES

Gaining in popularity in the world today is the belief that in democratic countries the policing of a community should be according to the wishes of that community. As the crime problems of communities vary, maximum benefits can accrue to a community only if the police address its specific crime problems. Associated with this belief is a second belief that the policing of a community should be by members of that community. Justification for this comes from the possibility that members of other communities or groups, ignorant of the hopes and aspirations, as well as the behavioural quirks, of a community might misinterpret what is normal, natural and legitimate behaviour as abnormal, unnatural and illegal.

When the policing of a community is done by members of other communities, there is the possibility that the police, assuming guardianship of the morals of society, might wish to suppress certain behavioural patterns displayed by the policed group, as being behaviour inappropriate in the civilized world of today. Durkheim identifies the process:

> When two populations, two groups of people having unequal cultures, come into continuous contact with one another, certain feelings develop that prompt the more cultivated group -- or that which deems itself such -- to do violence to the other. (This feeling of superiority) produces a veritable intoxication, an excessive exaltation of the self, a sort of megalomania which goes to the worst extremes.[1]

Examples of both these types of behaviour abound.[2] Recently, the Ontario Race Relations and Policing Task Force had been provided with examples of a number of such instances. Chief Pat Hardy of the Rocky Bay Indian Band enumerated instances of police racist behaviour on Indian reservations. His testimony resulted in a member of the Ottawa Race Relations and Policing Task Force to offer his apologies to the Indian people.[3]

In addition, to the multitude of anecdotal examples, there exist empirical studies, scientifically conducted, which point in the same direction. Ribordy, for example, conducted a study of the criminality of Italians in Montreal to test the culture conflict hypothesis. In this study he found that a large proportion of the arrests of Italians were made in pool rooms which were closely watched by the police in their efforts against organized crime. The arrests were made for what were called offences against public order. The specific activity that was interpreted as an offence against public order was behaviour displaying

extraordinary liveliness and noisiness, manifestations of a normal exuberance which the police perceived as a proneness to violence.[4] In the United States of America, Hayner found that the inordinately high rate of crime among the native Indian population was attributable in large measure to an excessive enforcement of selected laws as a result of police perception and the stereotyping of Indian behaviour.[5] Jayewardene has come to a similar conclusion in his studies on the criminality of Eskimos and Indians in Canada.[6]

The native people of Canada have agitated for special policing programs because they felt that they were being discriminated against by a white dominated system. Not only were they subjected to racist treatment, they were also not provided with adequate policing facilities. These agitations together with the belief that the investigation of Indian crime would be greatly facilitated if there were police officers of Indian origin to assist in the investigation have resulted in the appointment of a number of native Indians as police officers to police reserves in different parts of the country. Some of them have full police powers though their jurisdictions are restricted to the reserves to which they have been assigned while others are granted only limited powers.[7] The further development of a system of policing in which Indians would take on the responsibility of policing their reserves is beset with a number of problems. Apparently the provincial governments want any system of policing to operate within the provincial legislative framework. While supporting the concept of policing arrangements similar to those available to other communities, they do not want to see the multiplication of small local police forces or more autonomous police forces.[8]

The population composition of most cities is rapidly changing and assuming a multi-ethnic complexion. Some of these groups congregate into well delineated areas to form ethnic residential communities or ghettos. Others do not. An example frequently cited of the latter are the Norwegians who settled in the Prairies. When they went to the Prairies, there was no existing closely knit society which could become antagonistic towards them nor was there an established system of values antithetical to the Norwegian indigenous one to which they were forced to conform. They were free to develop their own social organization and become integrated into American society even though the integration was superficial.[9]

This, however, has not been the experience of all ethnic groups. Cheng, providing us with an account of the historical development of the Race Street China Town in Philadelphia indicates that racial antagonism and persecution absent initially could develop at a later date forcing the formation of ghettos. When the Chinese first came to Philadelphia, they dispersed themselves throughout the city, setting up laundry shops and making themselves economically useful to the community in which they settled. It was only later on

when their success and the expansion of their business involvement into grocery stores, curio shops and restaurants created a certain amount of antagonism and animosity towards them that they sought to live together in well delineated areas.[10]

Although ghettos constitute neighborhoods of primary relations where members of the same ethnic groups could feel comfortable and safe, they are essentially the consequence of imposition of external power and the institutionalization of powerlessness. They are social, political, educational and economic colonies.[11] In most American cities the black ghettos are readily visible to a passerby. The people who live in these ghettos resent those they feel are responsible for keeping them there and often turn against those they identify as representing them. The analysis of ghetto riots[12] and of the ghetto merchants who are victimized during civil disorders[13] provides supportive evidence for this hypothesis.

In Canada squalor hardly, if ever, heralds the existence of a ghetto. But ghettos do exist. In Toronto, for example, they exist as "neat rows of low income high rises and apartment buildings that stretch for miles",[14] the most famous of which gets described as "the highly concentrated public housing of the Jane-Finch neighbourhood" and which every one knows means the black neighbourhood.[15] "Heavily populated by Caribbean immigrant families, for the most part single mothers and children", they are areas where there are a multitude of socio-economic problems, an insufficiency of recreational facilities and community services and a feeling that those living there are separated from the rest of society, that they draw more attention from the police than the rest of the community, and that efforts to improve their lot have always resulted and will always result in nought.[16]

A police study released in 1986 has shown that the Jane-Finch area has:

(a) the largest population density of any area in metro, almost double the Metro average;

(b) the largest percentage of single parent families -- 21% compared to the Metro average of 13%;

(c) the largest concentration of newcomers to Metro;

(d) one of the largest concentrations of subsidized housing;

(e) the lowest average family income -- $21,000 a year compared to the Metro average of $30,000.[17]

When the police are members of another ethnic group, not only may the normal cooperation not be extended to them, the members of the community may be definitely hostile to the police. Baldwin describes the situation in Harlem:

> ...he is facing daily and nightly, the people who would gladly see him dead, and he knows it. There are few things under heaven more unnerving than the silent accumulating contempt and hatred of a people. He moves through Harlem, therefore, like an occupying soldier in a bitterly hostile country; which is precisely what, and where he is....[18]

In such cases, the patrolling police officers must establish their authority and their ability to handle any and every situation there, if not for anything else for their own personal safety. Baldwin describes what this entails:

> The only way to police a ghetto is to be oppressive. None of the police commissioner's men, even with the best will in the world, have any way of understanding the lives led by the people. They swagger about in twos and threes. Their very presence is an insult, and it would be, even if they spent their entire day feeding gum drops to children. They represent the force of the white world, and that world's criminal profit and ease, to keep the black man corralled up here, in his place. The badge, the gun in the holster and the swinger club make vivid what will happen should his rebellion become overt....[19]

It provides yet another reason why communities should be policed by their own members.

Whether they live together in a clearly delineated area of the city or not, it is not uncommon to find ethnic groups being collectively referred to as a community. They are conceived as constituting distinct and separate groups of people each with their own way of thinking and behaving which sets them apart from each other. When their continued existence as a distinctive groups is not promoted by geographic proximity, they develop techniques by which structured kinship can be maintained and their assimilation prevented or delayed.[20] The process is aided by the influx of new immigrants, language barriers and the revival of racial prejudices which drive them into ghettos.[21]

In this context the concept of the policing of ethnic residential communities by members of the same ethnic groups gets itself translated into balancing the ethnic makeup of the police so as to reflect the ethnic composition of the society they police. The police recruitment of visible minorities in these cases may help the police in the investigation of crime but it cannot be seen as aiding in the elimination of misunderstandings or antagonism. Such elimination would conceivably occur only when the policing is empathic and those policing belong to the same ethnic group as those policed.

One of the objectives of this study is the determination of the existence in the Greater Ottawa region of ghettos which could be policed exclusively by members of the same ethnic group. Census data that would help identify the existence of such ghettos are not available. The Census does collect information on ethnic origin and publishes the result of a twenty percent sample from which information for the cities of Gloucester, Nepean and Ottawa can be obtained. The ethnic origin, a note to this publication states, "refers to the 'roots' or ancestral origin of the population...". In the 1986 Census questionnaire, respondents were permitted to write in up to "three ethnic origins not included in the marked boxes", thus increasing "the number of multiple response possibilities". These data, however, do not permit any estimation of the size of the visible minority groups in the area either collectively or individually.

The Ethnocultural Data Base Office of the Ministry of Citizenship prepares from the Census data a more detailed and more extensive information sheet but this information is for the Ottawa-Hull area. Their information sheet shows that in the Ottawa-Hull area, in both the Ontario and Quebec parts, there were a total of 811,315 persons of whom approximately five percent could be categorized as members of visible minority groups. The size of these groups and their multitude preclude the possibility of their forming any sizeable ethnic residential areas calling for special policing.

Data on the place of birth of the individual presents more or less the same picture. The 1986 Census figures indicates that in the Ontario part of Ottawa-Hull there were a total of 612,670 persons. According to their place of birth only about five percent of them could be categorized as members of visible minority groups. The number of groups into which they fall is so large and, with a few exceptions, the numbers in each group are so small as to preclude the possibility of their living together in an area which could be identified as an ethnic residential community. There is, of course, the possibility of these ethnic groups living in small enclaves.

Information as to the existence of ghettos either as larger ethnic residential communities or as small enclaves was sought from the police. They do not

collect information on the ethnic composition of the population they police. Neither do they seem to be particularly interested in it as being relevant to the formulation of their policing policy. Police officers, however, do notice the characteristics of the people in the areas they patrol and are in a position to identify ghettos. The Ottawa police told us that there was a concentration of Chinese people in the Somerset Street area. They also told us that the influx of "boat people" was slowly changing the character of the Somerset Street area. Vietnamese were, according to them, displacing the Chinese in this well established community. Leaders of the Chinese community did not agree that the Somerset area, though referred to as Ottawa's China Town in the press and considered by many to be an area in which the Chinese lived and worked, was, in reality, a Chinese ghetto. They admitted that the Chinese did work in the area with numerous shops and restaurants established there. But the people did not live there. They lived dispersed throughout the region in areas which they thought were best suited for the rearing and education of their children. A stroll in this area on a Sunday afternoon reveals this area to be the habitat not only of Chinese but of other ethnic groups as well. The people living here claim it to be a mixed neighbourhood.

The Gloucester police were able to identify two areas as possible ghettos. One was in Cummings Avenue where the Ottawa Vietnamese Non Profit Residence Corporation runs a housing project. The project houses thirty-eight families and occupies about a block. Catering exclusively for the Vietnamese, it does constitute a Vietnamese enclave but the possibility of this developing into a ghetto is small. The Ottawa Vietnamese Non Profit Residence Corporation is planning a second such project but the project would not be anywhere near this first. The availability of land for the project precludes that possibility.

The second area where visible minorities were prominent was the area of Meadowbrook and Ridgebrook Avenues. Living here were a large number of blacks, Caribbean immigrants who intermingle in the high rise apartments in the area with members of other ethnic groups. Consequently, this area could not be considered to constitute a Caribbean ghetto. Low cost housing projects, we have been told by the leaders of the native Indian population, are also being operated by them. The housing units in these projects, which are mainly in the city centre, are not concentrated in one area like the Vietnamese project.

No ghettos or enclaves have been identified in Nepean. We were told that the members of visible minorities living in Nepean were mainly those who belonged to the upper economic strata and live in communities with members of other ethnic groups. They did not need the geographical proximity of their compatriates to make them feel safe, secure and comfortable. This point was also made by the other police forces. All of them stressed that the small number

of visible minorities was a very important factor in the absence of ghettos in the Greater Ottawa area.

Whatever the factual situation may be, pertinent here is the perception of the individual as to where he lives. In our survey of members of ethnic minorities, the question was asked:

Is the neighbourhood in which you live

(a) a predominantly white neighbourhood?

(b) a neighbourhood predominantly inhabited by members of your ethnic group?

(c) a neighbourhood predominantly inhabited by members of some other ethnic minority group?

(d) a mixed neighbourhood.

The majority of our respondents stated that they lived either in a predominantly white neighbourhood or in a mixed neighbourhood. Only three persons said they lived in either a neighbourhood predominantly inhabited by members of their own ethnic group or of some other ethnic group. A question about housing type showed no clear relationship between it and the type of neighbourhood ethnic composition. Almost half of the respondents lived in single detached homes.

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V. ETHNIC CRIME AND CRIMINALITY

Police forces have claimed that they do not usually collect information on the ethnic origin of offenders and victims in offences with which they have to deal. The Chief of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force, asked to release statistical information on the ethnic origin of offenders and victims, stated that there were none to release because the police did not keep crime statistics based on race.[1] As the ethnic origin of the offender and the victim is immaterial to the investigation of a case, the police find the collection and recording of such information useless. Several prominent members of the community have agreed with this police procedure. They thought the collection of such data not only useless but also unwise. Said one: "I have problems with the recording and use of data of such a sensitive nature linked to race,"[2] and another: "Crime statistics cited by race, when not put in the proper race relations and economic context, is gratuitous and serves no purpose at all."[3]

This notwithstanding, police spokespersons have referred to criminality of ethnic groups to explain the problematic relations the police have with those ethnic groups. On February 16th, 1989, a meeting of the North York Committee of Community, Race and Ethnic Relations was told that the Jane-Finch area had "one of the highest concentrations of violent crime" in Metro and that the small black population there, especially the black youth were involved in most of the crime. This statement was supported by statistical data which claimed that the blacks who made up six percent of the population in the Jane-Finch area were responsible for 82 percent of the robberies and muggings, 55 percent of the purse snatching and 51 percent of the drug offences in 1988. No indication was given as to the contribution that the blacks made to sexual offences and murders in the Jane-Finch area but it was implied that they did make an inordinately high contribution by a comparison of rates for these offences in the police division into which the Jane-Finch area fell with the rates in the adjoining police division.[4]

The police spokesman admitted that the statistical information that he provided were prepared by him specially for that meeting. He claimed that he: "did a manual count of crime occurrences in the Jane-Finch area last year and based his figures on actual arrests as well as reports of crime still under investigation", adding "in some cases all we have is a victim's report of the person's race".[5] The compilation, he claimed, was made "in light of the criticisms that we pick on black youths" and done specifically to provide an explanation for the allegations of racism levelled against the Toronto police. Said he:

> crime committed by the blacks are a significant reason for the tensions between the police and the black community.... Police

have an inordinate number of negative contacts with black youths. An inordinate amount of serious crimes involve black youths.[6]

Earlier, the Ontario Race Relations and Policing Task Force was told by the Chairman of the Toronto Police Commission that the blacks in Toronto who made up five percent of the population were responsible for 40 percent of Toronto's crime.[7] This statement, which another Metro Police Commissioner observed was likely based on a reading of crime reports than on statistics kept by the police, has since been considered to be a generalization of the statistical data compiled for the North York Committee meeting; the alleged situation in the Jane-Finch area being considered representative of the whole Metropolitan Toronto area.[8] It is slightly different from what the Toronto police themselves claimed was the situation in Toronto. Admitting using informal data, they claimed that 32-35 percent of the major criminal occurrences in Toronto were committed by blacks, mainly young Jamaicans who make up about two percent of the population.[9]

In its annual report on organized crime, the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police report an increase in the size, the number and the activity of Asian gangs with an increasing use of guns as their weapon of choice. These gangs coming mainly from Hong Kong and Vietnam have been, according to the report, most active in British Columbia but their presence is also becoming felt in Alberta and Ontario. In Ontario the main interests of the gangs have been identified as gambling and drug smuggling. The existence of other criminal groups from ethnic minority groups have also been noted. They too are claimed to be engaged in drug smuggling as their main interest but their activity seems to be extending to prostitution and pornography.[10]

Gang warfare in ethnic ghettos is not an uncommon phenomenon. In the development of the Race Street China Town of Philadelphia, it was found that when the Chinese from different parts of the city converged into the Race Street area, they brought with them a number of problems. One problem of particular interest to the study of ethnic crime and criminality was the generation of feuds between the different clans. Living in the same area the different clans attempted to establish their superiority and control the activities in the area. This attempt led to what came to be known as the tong wars.[11]

The problem of the gang warfare of Asian gangs in Canadian cities today is considered to be a little different. They are not considered to be localized feuds between different clans trying to gain control of the activities in a ghetto. The are believed to be part of a world wide network of criminal activity controlled by headquarters in Hong Kong or Saigon. Individual police officers in the Greater Ottawa area, the constables on the beat, however, think otherwise. Drawing on

their experience that the gang activity is limited to the ethnic groups to which the gang members belong, they feel that the gang activity is parochial. However, they would not discount the possibility of an international connection which police intelligence seems to have uncovered. In this connection, it is interesting to note, that in the early part of this century when the war on drugs began, trafficking in drugs, attributed mainly to the Chinese, was considered to be a part of a world wide conspiracy of the non white race to destroy the supremacy of and gain control of the white races.[12]

Whether the ethnic gang activity is with or without international connections, controlling these gangs is becoming a major concern for many police forces. In Vancouver, a special Asian Gang Squad has been formed by the police to deal exclusively with this problem. The squad, the Vice President of the Chinese Benevolent Society has claimed, is doing a good job "in the circumstances" contending at the same time that considerably more could be done to control the problem if there were more Asian police officers. The main problem as he sees it is the reluctance of members of the community which is affected by these gangs to report incidents to the police. He claims that people are more comfortable when they are talking to members of their own ethnic group and consequently would be less reluctant to not report the crimes.

An officer attached to the Vancouver Police Asian Gang Squad adds that apart from a reluctance to report crimes committed by the gangs, the Chinese are reluctant to give police any information at all. They also do not want to stand up in court and give evidence. All this largely because they do not trust police officers. The Asian Gang Squad spokesman claimed that the main problem is a difficulty in communication: the police inability to speak the language of the ethnic groups. But this difficulty, he claims, is not insurmountable. Knowledge of the language is not crucial and a good job can still be done if the police officer is willing to "learn, listen and be receptive to the community".[13] Apparently, the R.C.M.P. also has created a special task force to deal with the problem. The specific task entrusted this task force is to penetrate the Asian community to collect information to make arrests, prosecutions and convictions of Asian criminals easier.[14]

Police recruits from an ethnic group can aid in the collection of information about crime from members of that group. They can also assist in the control of crime, if such crime be peculiar to the ethnic group, by providing information about cultural factors which might be involved in the commission of such crimes, information to which they would be privy as members of that ethnic group. Such assistance, of course, is only possible if the criminal activity in which members of an ethnic group engage are culturally dictated or culturally fashioned crimes. If the crimes that they engage in are crimes which other groups engage in as well,

then there is no special advantage accruing from the ethnic origin of the police officer.

In our interviews with police officers in the Ottawa, Gloucester and Nepean police forces, information was sought regarding the criminal activity of visible minorities. All the police officers interviewed stressed that because of their small numbers, their contribution to the crime problem in the area was negligible. Most of them claimed that the criminal activity engaged in by members of visible minority groups was no different from that engaged in by members of other groups. However, police officers pointed out that members of visible minority groups were getting involved disproportionately in what could be called morality crimes. About ten percent of all morality charges, we were told, were laid against members of visible minority groups.[15]

Studies done on the economic behaviour of ethnic groups in the United States of America suggest that minority groups do engage in morality crimes as a means of subsistence. In the study of the occupational succession of Hungarians in Detroit, Benyon found that involvement in illicit activity such as bootlegging and prostitution was inversely proportional to the immigrant's ability to capitalize on his previous occupational experience. It was engaged in most by those who were able to maintain themselves only through the protection of a foreign language colony. The illicit activity, Benyon found, catered to the needs of Americans rather than the Hungarians and it acted as an elevator of social status, permitting people to rise above the economic position in which they appeared condemned to be when they migrated.[16] These illicit activities were not culturally dictated: they were environmentally induced.

One particular offence committed by visible minority groups in the Ottawa area in these morality charges was illegal gambling. Police officers claimed that among the Chinese and the Italians illegal gambling constituted a major problem and that in the Chinese-Vietnamese sector (the Somerset Street area) the problem could be bad because the stakes were so high that stores could change hands after one session. The police, however, were aware of only one such occurrence. The gambling, the police claimed, was a way of life in certain Asian countries and these ethnic groups did not see it to be criminal. Attempts have been made by them to legitimize and legalize the activity by seeking permits and licences for the gambling activity and limiting the gambling activity to popular draws, lotteries, roulette, card games and the like -- this with the assistance of police officers who saw the criminality to hinge on a technicality. But the conditions under which the permits and licences are granted, requiring professional (and expensive) roulette dealers and the like, stand in their way.

The more serious form of the immoral criminal activity in the Ottawa area appears to be sex related crimes. Police officers have told us that there is a certain amount of prostitution engaged in by members of visible minorities but their involvement in this activity is extremely small. Visible minority involvement in sex related crimes comprises mainly pimping. This activity is allegedly engaged in by landed immigrants of Jamaican origin. According to the police sources, there is evidence that this activity is a part of a larger network spanning Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto and extending even to Calgary. It is a sort of low scale organized crime dealing not only with prostitution but also with drugs, liquor and pornographic films. As far as Ottawa is concerned, the problem comprises pimps operating in the market area and the Rideau Centre recruiting for prostitution young white run-away females.[17] In pimp related cases before the courts, girls have testified as to how they were taken from the Rideau Centre to Montreal by men who had befriended them and then made to work as prostitutes.[18]

The criminal activity which seems to trouble the police most are the clashes between Asian gangs. Of particular importance are the clashes between gangs composed of Vietnamese members and gangs composed of Chinese. Apart from these clashes the gangs engage in extortion. During March 1989, four men were arrested and charged with attempting to extort money from a local Vietnamese Club. Soon after, two other men were arrested and prosecuted for attempting to extort money from Vietnamese students in the area.[19] The Ottawa police have linked this activity to Asian gangs. The police have claimed: "We are looking with concern at the recent events in the Asian community. First it was the Vietnamese club, and now this one. We are very much concerned."[20]

The Ottawa Vietnamese Community Association, however, see these as isolated incidents and not indicative of any form of gang activity in the Ottawa area. Nonetheless, there are some among them who, while agreeing that the incidents are not indicative of Vietnamese gang activity, seem to think that there is a very high likelihood that such gangs might develop in the Ottawa area.[21] It is not known whether the international gangs which appear to have gained a foothold in cities like Toronto and Vancouver will move in or whether members of visible minority groups will join to form gangs. If gangs do develop, members of the Ottawa Vietnamese Community Association believe the latter to be the greater likelihood. They claim: "A great majority of the Vietnamese community are young and there is a need for more recreational activities to keep them busy."[22]

During the month of December, 1989, occurrence reports involving a total of 765 offenders were filed in the Ottawa and Gloucester police stations. In these reports, reference was made to the offender in terms of white and non-white. Non whites were involved in only 54 or 7.06 percent of the cases. The non white involvement in the different types of crime does not show their criminal

involvement to be very much different from that of whites. Seventy-five percent of the offenders dealt with for offences categorized as disorderly houses, gaming and betting were non-white but then there were only four such cases. Of those dealt with for narcotic offences 15.79 percent were non-white, a figure that is significantly higher than their proportion in the total population. Also significantly higher than their proportion in the total population was the proportion of non-whites involved in fraudulent transactions.

In our survey of members of visible minority groups, questions were directed towards ascertaining their involvement and the involvement of their friends in crime both as victims and as suspects. They were asked:

Have you ever been a victim of a crime? If yes, was it:

(a) a crime of personal violence?

(b) a crime against property?

(c) a sex crime?

(d) a drug related crime?

The same question was asked regarding other members of their ethnic groups. They were also asked whether they have been suspected of any crime and, if they had, what the crime was. A final question that was asked in this connection was whether they knew any members of their own ethnic group who were suspected of having committed a crime and, if yes, what the crime was.

The responses showed that the majority of the respondents had not been involved in any criminal activity either as a victim or as a suspect. When they were involved, they tended to be more often victims than suspects. With regards to other members of their ethnic group the situation tended to be similar. The majority did not know of other members of their ethnic group who had been victimized or had been suspected of crime. Most frequently their involvement either as a victim or a suspect, both of themselves and other members of their ethnic group, was in crimes against property.

Police officers from visible minority groups, it has been claimed, would be helpful in the investigation of crime where members of ethnic minorities are involved. Such police officers are thought capable of bringing into their investigations a special knowledge that they possess as a result of being a member of a visible minority group. In addition, they are also considered capable

assigned the investigation? There is an implicit assumption made that the crimes in which they are involved are always intra-group. But, is that the real situation?

In our survey of visible minorities, we attempted to find out what the real situation was. Following the question dealing with their involvement as well as the involvement of their friends and relatives in crimes, a question was asked about the ethnic group of the individual, either victim or suspect. The responses indicated that the crime was very infrequently intra-group. This fact, together with the fact that there is little evidence to suggest the existence of serious culturally dictated crime in the Greater Ottawa area, does not lend itself to the conclusion that more police officers from visible minorities would help improve relations between the police and these groups.

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VI. COUNTERING ALLEGATIONS OF POLICE RACISM

This study was launched as a question for answers to two questions:

(a) Does there exist a problem between the police and members of visible minorities? and

(b) Will employment equity solve the problem?[1]

With respect to the first question, there appears to exist a belief that such a problem does exist in the country as a whole. The Ontario Government, when it appointed its Task Force on Race Relations and Policing, assumed the existence of such a problem and mandated the Task Force to make recommendations for the solution to the problem. The Task Force was not mandated to inquire into the existence of such a problem.[2] An Ontario Tory MPP, who has criticized the report of the Task Force contending that the Task Force was biased against the police from the start and even casting aspersions on its credibility because only two of its six members were white, has made pointed reference to this belief: "they went into this thing with the belief that there was a problem, whether it was true or not, the belief was there".[3] Even he, however, has conceded that there does exist a problem "not widespread but limited to a few individuals".[4] The R.C.M.P. Commissioner has assessed the situation: "I would be naive to suggest that (racism) has never occurred. I think the important question is do we have systems in place to cope with it."[5]

As far as Ontario is concerned the belief is that the problem is limited to Toronto and that such a problem does not exist in other parts of the province. A spokesman from the Ottawa Police in criticizing the Task Force report made this point: "Racial tensions in Toronto are no reason to come down hard on police forces outside the provincial capital."[6]

Our survey of members of ethnic groups in the Greater Ottawa area suggests that some problems do exist but that these have not as yet reached unmanageable or intolerable dimensions. When the actual experience of the respondents with the police was involved, about 75 percent of those who had been suspected of a crime, of those who had been victimized and of those who had come in contact with the police were satisfied with the behaviour of the police.

When the question did not involve their actual experience, the proportion approving the behaviour of the police was less. Just over half felt that the police

When the question did not involve their actual experience, the proportion approving the behaviour of the police was less. Just over half felt that the police were not racist, that the police do not treat members of ethnic minorities different from the way they treat whites, and that the police were not overzealous in proving guilt when the suspect was a member of a visible minority group. However, about two-thirds believed that the behaviour of the police was not influenced by ethnic considerations, and that the police were sufficiently diligent when investigating a crime where a member of a visible minority group had been victimized. Almost sixty percent believed that when a member of a visible minority was suspected of committing a crime, the police tended to believe that he was guilty.[7]

These data suggest that the racism or differential treatment afforded visible minority groups was more a perception of the visible minority groups. If this was the situation, employment equity assumes questionable value as a solution to the problem. What is more, our survey has shown that the other preconditions necessary for making employment equity an efficient solution for police racism[8] did not exist in the Greater Ottawa area. There were no clearly demarcable ethnic residential communities which could be policed by members of those minority groups.[9] The criminality of the visible minority groups were not peculiar to them: it was not culturally dictated. When members of visible minorities were involved in crime, the crime tended to be more inter-group rather than intra-group.[10]

In our survey we asked the question:

Do you feel it necessary to have more representation of ethnic minorities on the police force?

If yes, is it because you feel

(a) they would be able to better serve the ethnic minorities in controlling and solving crime?

(b) they would be able to understand the ethnic minorities?

(c) they would make the police truly representative of the community?

(d) they would be privy to information that would be denied members of other ethnic groups?

(e) they would look after the interests of the ethnic minorities?

Seven of our respondents did not answer the question, four said "No" and the remaining 37 (77.1%) said "Yes. The reasons that they gave for the "yes" answer varied. Some gave only one reason while others gave more. Mentioned as a reason:

(a) the better ability to serve ethnic minorities in controlling and solving crime were 11;

(b) ability to understand the ethnic minorities were 20;

(c) making the police truly representative of the community were 20;

(d) being privy to information that would be denied members of other ethnic groups were 4; and

(e) looking after the interests of the minority groups were 4.

These responses indicate that though the large majority feel that more police officers from visible minorities would be desirable, there does not seem to be any consensus as to why this should be. Most of the leaders of the ethnic groups that we interviewed did not see the need for concentrating on hiring members of ethnic minorities. One, however, did, noting: "If more members of visible minorities were hired as police officers, when confronted by a police officer we will not find a man towering over us."

There are, as is to be expected, some members of visible minority groups who do not feel that the police hiring of more members of visible minority groups would help solve the problems of police minority relations or that it would lead to any reduction of police racist behaviour. They seem to believe that the colour in the uniform really does not matter. As police officers, they seem to cover up for each other.[11] There is evidence to suggest that members of minority groups recruited into police forces shed as many of their ethnic attributes as possible.[12] Many of the Sikhs who have been recruited into the Toronto police force, we were told, do not wear their turbans though they are permitted to do so. They like to blend with the other police officers and not stand apart.[13] This affects behaviour as well as the external trappings.[14]

There is also evidence that police officers from minority groups are ostracized by the groups to which they belong and are thus prevented from doing what they were hired to do. A one time native commander of an R.C.M.P. detachment told the Manitoba Aboriginal Justice Inquiry that he left the force after eleven years because of abuse and ostracism by the native people. Said he:

> My own people that I worked for and represented spat on me and slapped my face and almost took my eye out with a knife.... They tried to cause me bodily harm.... They called me a traitor. They called me an apple, being red on the outside and white on the inside.[15]

A clamour for employment equity from minority groups, it has been suggested, could stem from difficulties they encounter in obtaining employment.[16] There is some data that suggests that these difficulties could lead them into criminal activity.[17] To ascertain the relevance of this hypothesis to the situation in the Greater Ottawa region two questions were asked in our survey:

(a) Are most members of your ethnic group living in the Greater Ottawa area employed? and

(b) Do they encounter difficulty in getting jobs?

The responses suggested that while most members of visible minorities were employed, they did encounter difficulties obtaining employment. Of the respondents, just over three-quarters said that most members of their ethnic group were employed and less than half said that they do encounter difficulties in gaining employment.

This seemingly paradoxical situation was explained to us in our interviews with the leaders of the ethnic groups. They told us that the difficulty encountered by members of visible minorities in gaining employment related to their inability to obtain employment commensurate with their qualifications and experience. Even though employment opportunities did exist in those fields, qualified members of ethnic minorities were not employed, we were told. The Ontario Race Relations and Policing Task Force was told by a migrant from the United States that he did not experience in Canada the racism that he experienced in Georgia in the 1930s where he grew up. But he did discover the existence of a different type of racism -- "racism with a smiling face". Said he, "Nobody ever said 'We don't hire niggers here'. Instead they say 'I'm sorry, the job's taken'."[18]

In our interviews we were told stories of how competitions held by the Civil Service Commission were cancelled at the last stages because it was found that a member of an ethnic minority would win the competition. We were also told how applicants to join police forces in the Greater Ottawa region were turned away without any reasons being given.

One of the reasons given for the police difficulty in hiring police officers from visible minorities is their alleged reluctance to apply, the reluctance of parents to allow their children to look upon policing as a career option. To test this claim, we asked in our survey: "Would you like one of your children to enlist as a police officer?" Twelve didn't answer and the rest were divided into two equal groups -- eighteen answering "Yes" and eighteen answering "No".

Speaking at a conference on relations between police and minority groups, Professor Harish Jain of McMaster University said that his research has indicated that that was not the situation. Members of visible minority groups, he claimed, do apply but they are simply turned down. In support of this claim he said that in 1988 there were more than 600 members of visible minorities who applied to the Metropolitan Toronto Police: only ten were recruited.[19] His research on the subject had indicated this to be the general situation.[20] In this context, the expressed desire by visible minority groups for more police officers from among them could well be a clamour for a guarantee that they would be given a fair chance of employment when and if they apply for the job.

Analyzing the Ontario Race Relations and Policing Task Force report, Thomas Walkom contends that the argument in the report is that: "If more non-whites can be put into uniform, then non-whites will lose their mistrust of the police."[21] He goes on, pointing out to what he claims are the stern recommendations contained in the Task Force report:

> All of this may work, if the problem is indeed simply one of perception. In effect, the task force is saying that what the police are doing is all right, just that the people doing it are the wrong color.
>
> But this in turn can cause current police officers to justly question why they should have their career paths threatened by a problem that is not real, merely perceptual.[22]

There are two ways of looking at a racism problem. One is to look at behaviour from the actor's point of view --the motivation behind the behaviour. The other is to look at it from an observer's point of view -- how the behaviour is interpreted. In a world where behaviour is considered governed and controllable by considerations of pain and pleasure, it is seldom realized that the observer's perception of the behaviour is often more important than the actor's motivation. It is the perception of the situation and not its reality that becomes real in its consequences. The task, consequently, is to change not simply the reality but the perception as well.

A race relations expert, giving evidence before the Ontario Race Relations and Policing Task Force claimed that the situation in Ontario as far as police minority relations were concerned was deplorable. He cited as "'vivid examples' of widespread problems" recent occurrences involving visible minority groups in Ottawa.[23] As these incidents, though occurring in Ottawa, did not involve the Ottawa police, many considered the assessment unfair.[24] However, the relations were assessed as deplorable not because of the incidents per se, but because of the manner in which the investigations which the incidents generated were handled. Claimed he: "it is deplorable because the issues have not been resolved. You look at the process it's taking to resolve them. Does anybody care?"[25]

Civil rights activists who have condemned the Task Force report as a diversionary tactic, have stressed that what was needed was "the creation of a civilian investigation bureau to investigate police misconduct allegations".[26] This, it was claimed, was what the community demanded. The Ottawa Citizen has also confirmed the need for such a bureau. Commented the Ottawa Citizen editorially: "The best way to improve police-community relations is to establish civilian review boards."[27]

The clamour for a civilian review board comes from the dissatisfaction with the existing system of investigation of complaints against the police. Gerald Emmett Cardinal Carter, in a report to the Civic Authorities of Metropolitan Toronto and its Citizens claimed:

> I listened to one horror story after another in which the recurrent theme was always that there was no mechanism by which a complaint could be properly placed and a fair hearing ensured. Indeed, it seemed to be a fairly general opinion that not only was there no possibility of seeking recourse in this matter but it was dangerous to do so. Retaliation by police officers or fear of retaliation was widespread.... A black man who was harassed on the steps of his own house was asked by the offending officer if he planned to lodge a complaint. When he answered that he considered such a procedure useless, the officer smiled and said "You are perfectly right, because I would simply have reported that your description fitted that of a wanted man we have in our hands". The implication was that he was not in the least worried about any complaint.[28]

Complaints against police officers are usually investigated by the Internal Affairs Department of their police force. Even before the investigation has begun, press releases of the police version of the incident carrying the hint of "no wrong

doing on the part of the police" may undermine the public confidence in the police ability to conduct an impartial enquiry into such complaints. The reaction of members of the police force to charges laid against a police officer after a shooting incident tends to suggest an invariable police expectation of exculpation. When manslaughter charges were laid against a constable responsible for the shooting death of a black man in a Toronto rooming house, the Metropolitan Toronto Police wanted the Attorney General to resign. A spokesman, representing Toronto's uniformed police officers said:

> We condemn the actions of the Ontario Government...and the specific actions of the Attorney General...and demand his resignation.... If we're out there protecting and supporting the public, who is supporting us?[29]

Even judicial enquiries become suspect. Sometimes the necessary information is not made available. In the Donald Marshall Inquiry, for example, Supreme Court injunctions were sought to prevent Ministers of State testifying on pertinent questions because their testimony might violate the principle of cabinet confidentiality.[30] Sometimes the attitude of the investigating judge prevents the truth from being elicited. In the J.J. Harper inquiry, cross examination of some of the police officers was not permitted and the testimony of natives was rejected on the ground that "the witnesses were not credible because they had an inherent mistrust of the police".[31]

Recently there has been a move towards the establishment of civilian review boards to investigate complaints against the police. One such system operates in Metropolitan Toronto. Under the Metropolitan Toronto Police Forces Complaints Act of 1984, a Public Complaints Commissioner has been appointed to oversee the investigation of complaints against the police. The internal affairs section of the police has been converted into a Public Complaints Investigation Bureau which continues to investigate complaints. This bureau is required to send a progress report on the investigation to the complainant and the Public Complaints Commission within 30 days of receipt of the complaint.

If the Public Complaints Commission feels that the investigation is not proceeding properly, if the Chief of Police so desires or if the complainant is not satisfied with the findings of the Public Complaints Investigation Bureau, the Public Complaints Commission undertakes an investigation of their own and if the evidence that they have uncovered merits it, a board of inquiry comprising three members is appointed to hear the case.

The proceedings before the board of inquiry, we were told, are weighted from the beginning for the police. This is because the legislation demands that, in

what is essentially a non-criminal proceeding, where admissibility of evidence is governed by the rules set out in the Statutory Powers and Procedures Act, guilt is determined on the basis of "beyond a reasonable doubt".[32] This, we believe, is as it should be, because more important than punishment inflicted on an errant police officer is the determination of the real circumstances of the case which may not always be possible if the evidence admitted was only that admissible in a criminal trial. One of the major advantages of the system is the testimony accessibility which the investigation of the Public Complaints Commission affords.[33] Though the police do not appear to deliberately alter the evidence, examples were given us where there was distortion of the evidence in favour of the police officer by the withholding of very pertinent bits of information.[34]

In the Metro Toronto area, there are, during a year, about 1000 complaints that are handled by the Bureau of Complaints. About fifteen percent of these cases are referred for action for one reason or another to the Public Complaints Commission. Only ten percent of these cases referred to the Public Complaints Commission are found to merit an official enquiry.

The operation of this complaints review system appears to have been generally satisfactory. No evaluation of the operation has been undertaken but there is an impressionistic feeling of satisfaction, so much so that the Ontario Government is in the process of amending the legislation to permit the operation of a similar system in other parts of the province if the municipalities so desire. There is, however, some evidence that the police still exert a considerable influence on the outcome of an inquiry. One member was not reappointed to the Attorney General and Solicitor General's panel of enquirers because, he claims, the Chief of Police disliked a judgment he wrote in one inquiry.[35] He was appointed to the Board of Police Commissioners instead.

A more interesting and illuminating situation is the case of a veteran of seventeen years who had earned for himself the sobriquet of the gentle giant because of his size and the gentle manner in which he conducted his business. He was charged with having used undue force on a suspect. The suspect in question was found passing off someone else's credit card when five people are said to have jumped on him to restrain him until the police arrived. He was then taken to a room where he was questioned by a police officer. When they came out of the room, the suspect had injuries -- crushed testicles -- which required surgery. The Board of Inquiry which heard the case found the police officer guilty and recommended that he be dismissed from the force. The Chairman of the Board is said to have observed in her judgment that had he confessed he would only have had his knuckles rapped, but as he was found guilty following an enquiry on a plea of not guilty, the Board was recommending that he should be fired. Following the recommendations, the police officer was fired from the police force but he has now been rehired as a civilian officer and plans are afoot to

bring him back to the uniformed force.[36] "A black punk with a mile long record was able to destroy the unblemished career of a veteran of 17 years" was how the case was presented to us "off the record".

These enquiries address the question of police wrong doing. Whatever the outcome, an inquiry may seldom satisfy the minority groups, because their interest is not in the police wrong doing but in police racism. Even when charges were laid against police officers who killed blacks, members of minority groups have expressed considerable dissatisfaction with what was happening. This was because the charge that was being laid was that of manslaughter and they claimed "a charge of manslaughter will not allow all the facts to come out about what happened...".[37] The problem involved was most succinctly stated on the CBC "As it Happens" program:

> We have a right to be treated as an equal in this society and that is all we are asking for. We have a right to see your attitude reflect that you see us as a person, as a human being in this society and that is all I am saying as far as the police is concerned. There is a system in place to deal with us if we are a law offender. Let justice or injustice, if you will, take its course. You don't have to beat us, you don't have to shoot us for us to understand that we have broken the law.[39]

Whether the police behaviour in question is racist, whether it has been fashioned by a conscious or unconscious consideration of the ethnic origin of the individual concerned, by feelings of superiority and inferiority, or by irrational fears or hatreds, can only come from a comparison of police behaviour in situations where the individuals involved belong to different ethnic groups. The answer cannot come from an investigation of a case focused on police wrong doing, because involved here is more than mere police wrong doing. It involves police wrong doing manifesting itself only where members of minority groups are involved. Until investigations are undertaken specifically to answer the differential question, members of ethnic minorities will continue to believe that the police behaviour towards them is racist and the police will continue to behave in ways that will reinforce that belief. No amount of employment equity will alter that situation.

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31. Don Gillmor, "The Shooting of J.J. Harper", Saturday Night, December, 1988, 43-52.

32. Personal Communication, 1989.

33. Personal Communication, 1989.

34. Personal Communication, 1989.

35. Personal Communication, 1989.

36. Personal Communication, 1989.

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VII. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The conclusion reached in this study is that employment equity will not necessarily help in improving police minority relations or in dissipating accusations of police racism. This conclusion was reached on the supposition that police officers from minority groups would be able to better appreciate the problems of their compatriots and be better able to deal with them. As necessary prerequisites for the operation of such a mechanism were identified:

(a) the existence of distinct ethnic residential communities;

(b) criminal involvement of members of ethnic groups being intra-ethnic rather than inter-ethnic; and

(c) their criminal activity being culturally dictated behaviour.

Data for the study was obtained from the Greater Ottawa area where visible minority groups are relatively small. The respondents also appeared to be specially selected in that most belonged to the upper economic strata. The conclusion consequently is not universally applicable. A study should be undertaken to ascertain whether the same conditions prevail in other places such as Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver where there is a larger minority population belonging to a larger social spectrum.

In this study it was also suggested that there appeared to be a need not so much for obligatory hiring of members from ethnic minorities, to ensure that the ethnic composition of the police force reflected the composition of the population, as for a system which would ensure that members of minority groups would have a fair chance of employment if and when they applied to join a police force. Affirmative action has the distinct disadvantage in that an effort to fill quotas would result in the hiring of members of minority groups who might not be suitable for the position thus leading to a perception that such people cannot function as police officers. If an independent body were to establish a pool of potential recruits, then the accusations of prejudice in hiring practices would not be made and the disadvantage of hiring people unsuited for the job would be avoided. The Ontario Race Relations and Policing Task Force has made this recommendation and it is perhaps a policy that should be implemented and periodically reviewed.

The most important factor in dealing with the problem of police racism has been found to be the necessity of a mechanism for addressing the grievances of

the public, especially minority groups. At the present moment, there is in Toronto a Public Complaints Commission which acts as a civilian review of complaints against the police. The Ontario Government is in the process of amending the legislation to enable other municipalities in Ontario to establish such a system if they so desire. A study of the manner in which the Public Complaints Commission operates, what they do and what are the public and police reactions to them would be useful.

Enquiries into complaints of racism against the police are usually undertaken from the point of view of police wrong doing, irrespective of the ethnicity of the complainant. Such enquiries, however, do not help in solving the racism problem for involved here is not a question of police wrong doing per se but a question of wrong doing only when members of ethnic minority groups are concerned. What is required is an inquiry into complaints which would address the question of differential treatment by comparison of the situation surrounding the police behaviour complained of with the behaviour of the police in other similar situations.

QUESTIONNAIRE

The police forces in Canada, as you are undoubtedly aware, are making an overt attempt to increase the representation of visible ethnic minorities on police forces by increasing the recruitment of members from visible ethnic minority groups. We are undertaking a study to find out the view of members of ethnic minorities on this endeavour. Would you please answer a few questions for us? The information that you provide us would be treated as confidential and used only for the purpose of this study.

1. Do you live in

   (a) a single family detached house?

   (b) a single family attached house?

   (c) a small apartment building?

   (d) a high rise apartment building?

2. Is the neighbourhood in which you live

   (a) a predominantly white neighbourhood?

   (b) a neighbourhood predominantly inhabited by members of your ethnic group?

   (c) a neighbourhood predominantly inhabited by members of some other ethnic minority group?

   (d) a mixed group?

3. How many families of your ethnic group live within two or three blocks from where you live?

4. Do you feel safe and secure in the area where you live?

   Yes _____ No _____

5. Do you feel that the area where you live receives sufficient police protection?

   Yes _____ No_____

6. Do you feel that the police in this city are doing a good job controlling crime?

   Yes_____ No_____

7. Do you feel that the police are readily available when they are needed?

   Yes_____ No_____

8. Is the area in which you live relatively free of crime?

   Yes_____ No_____

9. Have you ever been a victim of a crime?

   Yes_____ No_____

   If yes, was it

   (a) a crime of personal violence?

   (b) a crime against property?

   (c) a sex crime?

   (d) a drug related crime?

10. In this incident was the offender

    (a) a member of the majority group?

    (b) a member of the same ethnic group as yourself?

    (c) a member of another ethnic minority group?

(d) unknown?

11. Do you know of any members of your ethnic group who have been victims of a crime?

Yes_____ No_____

If yes, was it

(a) a crime of personal violence?

(b) a crime against property?

(c) a sex crime?

(d) a drug related crime?

12. In these incidents were the offenders

(a) a member of the majority group?

(b) a member of the same ethnic group as yourself?

(c) a member of another ethnic minority group?

(d) unknown?

13. On these occasions do you feel that the police did their job well?

Yes_____ No_____

14. Do you feel that when a member of an ethnic minority is involved in a crime as a victim the police are sufficiently diligent in their investigations?

Yes_____ No_____

15. Have you ever been suspected of having committed a crime?

Yes_____ No_____

If yes, was it

(a) a crime of personal violence?

(b) a crime against property?

(c) a sex crime?

(d) a drug related crime?

16. In this incident was the victim

(a) a member of the majority group?

(b) a member of the same ethnic group as yourself?

(c) a member of another ethnic minority group?

(d) unknown?

17. Do you know of any members of your ethnic group who have been suspected of having committed a crime?

Yes_____ No_____

If yes, was it

(a) a crime of personal violence?

(b) a crime against property?

(c) a sex crime?

(d) a drug related crime?

18. In these incidents were the victims

(a) a member of the majority group?

(b) a member of the same ethnic group as yourself?

(c) a member of another ethnic minority group?

(d) unknown?

19. On these occasions do you feel that the police did their job professionally?

Yes_____ No_____

20. Do you feel that when a member of an ethnic minority is involved in a crime as an offender, he is treated by the police as if he was guilty?

Yes_____ No_____

21. Do you feel that the police are overzealous in their efforts to prove guilt when a member of an ethnic minority is suspected of having committed a crime?

Yes_____ No_____

22. Whenever you came in contact with the police did you feel that the police were

(a) courteous?

(b) efficient?

(c) indifferent?

23. Did you feel that their behaviour was influenced by the fact that you were a member of an ethnic minority group?

Yes_____ No_____

24. Do you feel that when a police officer speaks to a member of an ethnic minority he is rude or discourteous?

Yes_____ No_____

25. Do you feel that the behaviour of the police towards members of an ethnic minority is different from their behaviour towards the whites?

Yes_____ No_____

26. Do you feel that the police in this city are racist?

Yes_____ No_____

If yes, is your opinion because of

(a) one of your experiences?

(b) the experience of a friend or relative?

27. Do you consider it necessary to have more representation of ethnic minorities on the police force?

Yes_____ No_____

If yes, is it because you feel

(a) they would be better able to serve the ethnic minorities in controlling and solving crime?

(b) they would be able to understand the ethnic minorities?

(c) they would make the police truly representative of the community?

(d) they would be privy to information that would be denied to members of other ethnic groups?

(e) they would look after the interests of the ethnic minorities?

28. Would you like one of your children to enlist as a police officer?

Yes_____ No_____

29. Are you employed?

Yes_____ No_____

30. How would you classify yourself occupation wise?

(a) Professional

(b) Executive

(c) Middle Management

(d) Skilled Labour

(e) Unskilled Labour

(f) Unemployed

31. Are most members of your ethnic group who live in the Greater Ottawa area employed?

Yes_____ No_____

32. Do they encounter difficulty in getting jobs?

Yes_____ No_____

33. What is your country of origin? _____

34. Do you consider yourself as a member of a visible ethnic minority?

Yes_____ No_____

(A member of a visible ethnic minority is a person who is readily and easily identifiable as not being a white caucasian.)

35. What is your postal code? _____